[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 182 634 619 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 361 619 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself. [128]

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 101 634 [132] [233] [243] Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340 meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

/101 cont./

317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzūyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

• 243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all, except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing. Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/123 cont./

241 [312] water. Certainly the torrential descent will carry away the pebbles, demolish the walls, bear off the seeds: but sometimes, too, it respects them. In any case, it wets the soil and deposits silt. A risk to run...

Third type: the dry agriculture, on high brows of hills or forest clearings. It is an important complement of the hydraulics. /124/ But we are too poorly informed on the altitude pluviometry to analyze the conditions precisely. The grain-lands always exceed the mark of 2,000 meters in the Tasila and the Azuran. Rye and barley reach good yields there. That explains why the competition for the usufruct of these lands is lively. And why it is honorable. It is a competition between communes and between notables rather than between fellow citizens. The distance is a prize for the rich and for the bold. The only one of his ikhs, such and such an individual launches upon valorizations or clearings, which he will support, of course, with titles. Nevertheless the servitude of a community vocation remains keen enough to impose allotment in certain cases. If some of these grounds, like the Tasila, have been very much appropriated, others, like the Azuran of the Imt'ddan, suggest very closely the custom of distribution among ikhs-s. The vocation of each of these is still clearly affirmed, for example, in the albur of the a. M'hnd.

243 423 613 [621]

241 423 Elsewhere, and about wherever the forest domain rules, the vivification by clearing or by removing stones will often be invoked as the source of right: the litigant has recourse in this case to the Arabic verb t'uww^{c}, and then a Mussulman principle, that of "vivification," in fact works for him. But to what extent is it an old institution? It is difficult to specify it. Perhaps one will find more authenticity and, at the least, originality in the customs governing certain plains of the Dir, on both sides of Imintanout. When the season arrives, a race to the tillage is organized. The first one who marks the furrow has the enjoyment of it for the year. In Seksawa, although it nowhere functions in the manner thus avowed, this practice is implied in everything that arises out of the notion of "communal" muchā^{c}.

/151 cont./

312 804 "the entire day" or "the half day," distributed in "parts," tawala, plur. tiwaliwin. For each tawala there is a multitude of rightful claimants, each of whom only benefits from a fraction or sub-fraction. The estimation of it is done sometimes with the aid of instruments such as a kind of clepsydra, called tat't'aqt, or further by gauging in the reservoir.

But how does this water, distributed in so sagacious a fashion, act once it has come to the echelon of utilization? There again, an abrupt lag in the technique. At the end one finds no more than the procedure of submersion. Its letters of African authen- [191] ticity are moreover immemorial, since it is the same method that the peasants of the Nile practiced until a recent epoch (1).

1. J. Brunhes, L'irrigation dans la péninsule ibérique et dans l'Afrique du Nord /Irrigation in the Iberian Peninsula and in North Africa/, 1903, p. 210, citing various works. See especially Descriptions de l'Egypte, 1824, t. XVII, pp. 10 sq., and the recent book by Muh'ammad Fahîm, Uçûl az-zirâ^{c}a, al-Qâhira, 1952, pp. 37 sq. The manual of Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. d'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for North Africa/, 1928, t. I, p. 185 sq., comments on the harmful effects of poorly managed irrigation, the exact modules needed by each crop (p. 193).

312 241 The long saturation of the soil and of the plant by water is judged here to be the only efficient method. Preliminary to the tillage one practices a first inundation: this is the adunkal. Then a second one, intended to "break up the clods": this is the tirz'i wut't'ib. Then others "for soaking," isswi. Near the plain, the [184] a. Abdella practice three of them for barley, which conforms to [243] the data of our experimental agronomy of the South. But higher, the a. Lh'sen and especially the Idma multiply them as often as possible: up to 10 or even 12 times. Perhaps because the

/151 cont./

312 241 fractioning of the module is pushed farther among them, a matter difficult to verify outside of a specialized investigation. But more probably because of a belief in the virtues of the water. The faith in this panacea, acquired with difficulty, wonderfully distributed, is so ardent that in widespread beds, as in a. Lh'sen or Sekrat, on a ground of pebbles and gravel, a sort of forcing-house of plants under permanent inundation is customary: that applies to edible flax, to meadows /152/ for mowing, and sometimes to barley (1).

1. Already observed by E. Doutté in Gund'afa, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, pp. 102 sq. Cf. also J. Dresch, op. laud., on the Toubkal, p. 59.

[243] Veritable cereal-cultivation in the manner of rice. The procedure is called tanuri. But an excess of water entails many unfortunate consequences, for the soil that it breaks up and for the plant that it etiolates. It is true that with the perspective of scarcity, felt even in these mountains, and which explains to a certain extent why every watering should be feast and revel, and delights in excess, a competitive economy incites each assign to dispose, to the depth and to the end, of his portion when it falls to him. It is drunkenness following thirst.

312 Such irrigation, sometimes wasteful, sometimes insufficient, imposes harassing tactics because of its uncertainty. It also contributes to forging the energy of these societies. But, bereft of deep installations, tied to the risks of a storm, accidental in its matter, it remains a technique of expedients. Its risky nature, which an excess of distribution is not able to palliate, but only aggravates, limits its creative value. It is inspired by a magnificent social equity. But it relies more on guile than basic treatments. It makes satiety and privation alternate. It reduces the yield of its very assets and demoralizes a gigantic expenditure of collective will and efficiency.

To this precariousness, now triumphant and satiated in times of abundance, now suffering in times of drought, a fatal blow can

/175 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
• 243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, supposing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley
[242] has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
[182] succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

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Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/175 cont./

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171 /footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the I^er Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

178 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic
182 thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in
● 243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these
182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

[Ait Mh'nd]

/180 cont./

241 233 notable differences in physical nature, utilization, social rhythm, and even toponymic density introduce not only a division of labor, but a qualitative order linked to the life and to the conceptions of the group.

Livestock Breeding

233 221 [361] [184] From the village, which is itself at more than 1,800 meters, one sees the mountain covered with snow for a good part of the year. As in all the Seksawa, stabling, with prepared fodder, mowed forage, collected grass, stored straw, and preserved acorns and turnips, is imperative for long periods. Nevertheless, pasturage is organized over two sectors, by rotation. One, the mountain pasture, above and to the S. of the village, the Adrar, is placed in defense from March /181/ to June. The other, on the Ameznir, toward the Ibuban massif, is placed in defense from June to January. One recognizes this procedure of placing in defense, ig^{w}mi, represented in many other cantons of the Seksawa. Together with the practices of mowed forage, preserved fodder, and shelter, it indicates a well-adapted, coherent system.

Dry Crops

241 31 [243] [132] If one excepts some tillage practiced on the periphery of the crater on the S. side, the great part of the a. Mh'nd sown fields extends, in the direction of the Ibuban massif, on a bulge of land of some 2,000 meters in altitude, where, thanks to a favorable, even though indeterminable pluviometry, and also doubtlessly to momentary snowfall, barley and rye prosper. A very clear thing, 31 [103] the albur is divided into "quarters," tigh^{w}mrin, or simply tismawin, so that -- if we follow, from the S. peak, the arc of the circle that is presented to us with, far in the background, the Ilikri -- we find the following toponyms: Iz'ran Umlil̈n, Anrar^{w}-Waman, Naâtjur (characteristic rocky points), a smooth

[Ait Musa Ufella]

/203 cont./

423 311 2) The whole of the ground making up about 40 hectares, each quarter, on the average, is a little more than one hectare. But there are great inequalities. The largest ones are split up [103] into several toponyms. One, Ibh'ir, includes up to 6 of them. Four of them include five each. The subjoined table gives the details.

3) The area of the average irrigated parcel is some two [243] a., as at Z'init'. Maize constantly follows barley in the lower band, and only depending upon the available lands on the upper [592] level stretch. Let us note that each foyer possesses about 10 parcels on the average. But there are great inequalities: lords' country, worn-out country, changing country.

103 4) Of 110 toponyms, there are not 20 that remain unintelligible: the majority still refer evidently to proper names. All the others are understood and immediately translated into Arabic by the local informant, if he is bilingual. This clearness is a constant of the genre. Still it is necessary to note that it is quite particularly keen here. If some names of things have assumed an antiquated or exotic color, it is scarcely. In the sense of "tamarisk," for example, one finds side by side tammachin, which is the local word, and ammayn, which is the word used in the Sous, unused here in this sense. Certain proper names recall historic or legendary memories: Ujjiin would have been a settler of the Demsira; Tawillult, a Portuguese woman. To these legendary settlers is also attributed the name of Bukris in the same quarter. Most of the other names naturally refer to /204/ /left side of table appears here/ /205/ /right side of table appears here/ /206/ /continuation of table appears here/ /207/ topographical details and agriculture. The table opposite /pp. 286-288/ indicates under each the explanation that is spontaneously given for it by the local peasant.

178 Thus, then, despite the weakness of this sector, exposed to the attacks of mountain and plain, accessible to the influences of the latter, and in some ways already denatured in its customs, the agrarian order that one ascertains here is that of the higher cantons. Now, not only has this territory not offered for at least

[Ibuban]

/208 cont./

241 turnip crop. But, in general, nothing to anticipate other than the chances and risks of dry agriculture. Paradoxically, this peasant is put in the situation of his colleague of the plains or piedmont plateaus. But he does not have at his disposal, as he does, the compensatory resource of space. Consequently he has
245 applied himself to remedy these misfortunes, with a care deserv-
[241] ing a better fate: vast staircase of tiers as at Amassin, painstaking clearing as at Iggayzen, meticulous treatment of the soil on declivities, planes, furrows and beds, in order to collect the least bit of moisture, large plantings of opuntia, the fruit of which is dried and stored, planting of almond trees above all, more than 35,000 for some 300 inhabitants.

And this puts one on the track of an explanation. Not being able to be rendered by a display of lands for sowing, this recourse to the extensive, if one may say it, is expressed by the multiplication of the tree on open soil. Yet, in fact, not the least trace of an orchard technique is to be sought there: neither grooves draining the impluvium, nor "basin," tanut, nor, naturally, pruning, grafting, or selection. The planting visibly surpasses the maintenance faculties. The almond tree has been conceived in association with the forest, like the carob tree, and is inserted among oaks or lentisks. Another characteristic: these immense plaques of opuntia, which arise for certain -- the alignment by tiers below Amassin is one proof of it -- from a general taste rather than from the spontaneous dispersion of which local folk-
[262] lore makes the crow the agent. In the middle of August, and when the leaves of the aknari /209/ itself shrivel and curl up because of a lack of water, there will be a joyful debauch -- and the main nourishment of the day -- in going to gulp down these
[443] sweet fruits, difficult to approach, but occupying the stomach
[412] nicely. At this time of the year, the hawkers sell an incredible number of knives designed to peel the prickly skin. The gaiety
[586] is expressed by a recrudescence of marriages. Divorces, it is true, will follow as soon as the year gives signs of inclemency.

● 243 The almond remains the principal wealth. But barley sometimes gives surprising results. According to a proverb of the

[Ibuban]

/209 cont./

243 a. Lh'sen, 20 measures of seed from Ibuban give as much as its double from any other origin. And a quarter ṣbra of this cereal grown here suffices, it seems, to satisfy, and beyond, the most voracious of mules. The explanation, which we would willingly see in the quality of the soil, which a maladroit irrigation technique does not wash away, as it does everywhere else, the people see in a special baraka /magico-religious force; see glossary, p. 638/, with which the Ibuban would be favored. First, as compensation, for their country is unfruitful. Then because they are the most religious of men: thus, at Iggayzen, each foyer pays to the saints merely as chcherd', and not including the feasts and voluntary gifts, 4 1/4 measures of barley, that is 2/3 qal. Finally, the Ibuban contain very old populations, and antiquity on the soil is linked, according to these montagnards, to a fine agricultural hand. These are "old people."

[823] [778] [794] [173]

423 613 The bounds are divided into grounds where each of the principal ikhs is represented. Thus, the Amassin people, of Dukkâla origin, have their lands in each of the four villages. But, through a privilege connected with their quality as conquerors, none of the other ikhs has any among them. The a. Mulid, originally from the a. Irz'z'i, are, like them, with this exception, represented everywhere. The aberrant populations, like the Inagheyn of Talburt, or the a. ba Melluk, descendants of blacks annihilated by the Dukkâla, have fields only around their habitat. Fugitive a. Irz'z'i and immigrant Dukkâla, masters of the country, have thus divided it among themselves. These conquered ones are here combined with other elements as beneficiaries of a new hierarchy. But this order is incomplete. The documentary interest of the sector is that local tradition makes one understand why. Among the ikhs-s descended from the oldest populations and the conquering branches, Dukkâla or a. Irz'z'i, there has not been equitable distribution. Between these two branches themselves, all the quarters have not been covered by the division. The disorder of history, reflected by still-living inequalities, has thus had direct effects on the landowner equilibrium.

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[423] /217 cont./
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these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzüyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzüyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals..	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

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619
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	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idnia	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ᶜabra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

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R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII[e] siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

/228 cont./

121 and which would call for irrelevant quantitative comparisons,
423 one nevertheless suspects, in the limited cadre of the western Haut-Atlas, great inequalities between grounds. Consequently, have we not risked basing our description excessively on the limited case of the irrigated ravine, while other aspects, visually broader, also decisive economically, likewise call for analysis? /229/ And, on the other hand, what inexactitude would there not have been in imagining that the montagnard reality presents itself everywhere with equal rigor!

Phenomena of erosion or of disuse can, even in the irrigated, bring on the collapse of the system. Above all, it is the juridical inextricability, itself resulting from a weakening of the communitarian life: in the complexity of the old gentilitial formula the
[178] young generations were no longer met with again. Weary of war, a jemâa agreement substitutes, for the former devolution of water by ikhs, a watering by contiguous pieces.

But beside this factor of more or less great integrity of the montagnard type, another, doubtlessly of major importance, intervenes: its degree of spread in space.

423 If one turns one's attention from the valley land in order to
184 put it on the high surfaces for rye, for example, one finds that
243 two essential elements are missing for verifying the structural rule
[312] that we have defined: no division of time into turns for water,
[181] and for reason; and fewer minutiae in the toponyms. The life of
[613] the heights is less willing, less refined, looser. The simultaneous implantation of all the ikhs-s is more theoretical than real. For
[492] this agriculture, distant from the village, requires means of transport, the harness or at the very least the beast of burden. It is not within the reach of all. Not all risk it. It is an agriculture of representative ambitious ones, not of egalitarian citizens. Operating in a social milieu less finely innervated, if I may venture to say it, deprived of this permanent exercise of will and equilibrium, and also of this measure of time that irrigation constitutes, it correlatively puts up with a haziness of the law and a haziness of the techniques: irregular fallowings, returns to wasteland, abandonment of an overly poor harvest, submission to the hazards of the snowfall and of the pluviometry.

/40 cont./

361 712 184 [343] At other times too, in the richer regions -- at the bottom of the more fertile basins that appear here and there in the Anti-Atlas -- groups of hamlets are established around the collective storehouses, inside which each home keeps its provisions. The very mass of the houses then forms, around these granaries, a natural defense.

Finally, near the summits, the big villages, almost unknown on the slopes of the Atlas, reappear at the head of ravines in the vicinity of plateaus favorable for the life of the flocks. Such are, for example, Tassa of the Aït Haddiyous, and Tasgint of the Ida ou Mahmoud, near the Tichka, or Amasin of the Ikhozamen, near the peaks of the Sirwa. These agglomeration of one to two hundred hearths, often dominated by large storehouses with the look of fortresses, are moreover in reality only winter villages situated at more than 2,000 meters in altitude. Everyone comes [243] to take shelter there when the first snows fall; but during the fine season the inhabitants scatter in groups of a few families in the midst of the pastures of the summits and here and there cultivate poor fields of rye and barley around enclosures of dry stone that serve them as houses.

/41/ Most of these Berbère agglomerations -- small cities with village-like appearance, valley hamlets, winter villages of the summits -- present a common double characteristic. They are almost always established near streams, because human life in the south of Morocco is closely bound up with the utilization of springs and séguias. They only exceptionally occupy natural defensive emplacements on the summit of peaks in the manner of the villages of the Kabylia of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/.

621 592 If one observes attentively the exterior aspect of these various groupings, small towns or villages, one perceives the importance that the hamlet inhabited by a patriarchal group of ten to twenty hearths nearly always assumes. Every detached house tends to develop, if the family that occupies it succeeds in prospering, so as to form, by the juxtaposition of separate chambers constructed by the sons and relatives by marriage, an association strong enough to ensure its own defense and exploit its lands in